

**The Horom language**  
**of**  
**Central Nigeria and its affinities**

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## 1. Introduction

This is an annotated wordlist of the Horom language, spoken in Horom village in Bokkos district of Plateau State, Nigeria. The wordlist was collected by Roger Blench with the assistance of Selbut Longtau from Abiya Ishaku Musa and a group of villagers in Horom on the 30th of March 1998.

The wordlist was collected as a 'one-shot' exercise and the transcription must therefore be regarded as very preliminary. In general, tones are not marked, although the data was taped and they will be added when time permits. This analysis was prepared by Roger Blench, who added the comparative observations<sup>1</sup>. This document is being circulated to scholars for comment.

## 2. Location, history and sociolinguistic situation

### 2.1 Nomenclature

The Rom people (sg. Rom pl. BaRom) have been called 'Horom' in almost all the literature (Benue-Congo Comparative Wordlist; Hansford et al. 1976; Crozier & Blench 1992). Horom is the name of their language, but in view of the ubiquity of this root for 'person' or 'man', Horom is a good reference name. Some early sources have the name 'Kaleri', apparently a distortion of 'Kulere', which appears in Greenberg's classification, but this is highly inappropriate.

### 2.2 Location and settlements

The main village of the Horom is some 10 km. (40 mins drive) east of Richa over an extremely bad road. Richa is at the edge of the Jos Plateau some 2 hours drive SE of Jos and is the principal market-town for the area. All the other villages in this area speak varieties of Kulere, a Chadic language, with the exception of Bo and Rukul. The Horom also have a small hamlet, Kura 'down', i.e. on the plain below the escarpment, where they live among the Rindre.

### 2.3 Language status

The Horom language is spoken by perhaps 1500 speakers at a maximum. Nonetheless, the language does not seem unduly threatened; during the language elicitation session it seemed that many of the children present were able to produce the required lexical items simultaneously with the adults. This situation may be explained partly by the remoteness of Horom, although remoteness has not prevented the Chadic languages in the Bauchi area from disappearing. Horom culture is still very much alive (see below) and presumably this has acted to preserve the language as well.

The Horom are extremely multilingual; they reported fluency in Kulere, Rindre (a Plateau language spoken at the bottom of the escarpment), Hausa and there were also several speakers of English. Despite this, Horom seems not have been heavily influenced lexically by these languages (see §7.).

### 2.4 Horom culture and history

The Horom are regarded by their neighbours as culturally part of the Ron-speaking group. The only source for information on Horom culture is CAPRO (in press)<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Selbut Longtau, who assisted me with external parallels and other comments.

<sup>2</sup> Thanks to Patience Ahmed for supplying me with an advance electronic file of this document.

The people of Horom are expert in traditional pottery. Other handicrafts are weaving of traditional sacks, smithing and carving. Almost every householder rears chickens, goats, sheep or cows. According to tradition, cows were kept for ceremonies and sacrifices.

It can also be said that traditional religion remains very lively in this area. The Horom have lively musical traditions including, rather surprisingly, the use of the xylophone.

### 3. Phonology

The phonology of Horom is based on rapid observations and should therefore be regarded as tentative at this stage.

#### 3.1 Vowels

Horom probably has seven phonemic vowels;

	Front	Central	Back
<b>Close</b>	i		u
<b>Close-Mid</b>	e	(ə)	o
<b>Open-Mid</b>	ɛ		ɔ
<b>Open</b>		a	

The status of the /ə/ is highly uncertain, and it is probably a centralised allophone of /i/. For the present it is transcribed as heard. The following words have a schwa that does not seem to be easily reassigned to another vowel.

mason wasp      **və̀rvì**  
 sesame seeds    **bwə̀két**

#### 3.2 Consonants

Horom consonants are as follows:

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alve-olar	Alveopalata l	Palata l	Velar	Labial-velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b		t d		[c] j	k g	(kp)	
Nasal	m		n			ŋ		
Trill			[r]					
Fricative		f v	s z	ʃ ʒ		ɣ		h
Approximant					y		w	
Lateral Approximant			l					
Implosive	ɓ		ɗ					

/kp/ was only recorded in on word, porcupine (187.) and should be checked again before being set up as a phoneme.

### 3.3 Tones

The tone system of Horom is quite restricted, with only two tones. The majority of words appear all low tone. No cases of glide tones seem to occur. In most cases the tone is left unmarked.

## 4. Morphology

### 4.1 Nouns

Horom is unusual in that it eschews one of the common processes for pluralisation in Plateau, prosodies, notably labialisation of the initial consonant. However, it also has suffixes. Examples of suffixes are;

<b>Gloss</b>	<b>sg.</b>	<b>pl.</b>
knife	<b>mbok</b>	<b>ba-mbuk-u</b>
moon/month	<b>u-fel</b>	<b>ba-pel-e</b>
mother	<b>wo</b>	<b>ba-wo-ne</b>
root	<b>u-liŋ</b>	<b>be-liŋ-i</b>
skin	<b>hɔr</b>	<b>ba-hɔr-ɔ</b>

Note the stem vowel change in ‘knife’ and the consonant mutation in ‘moon’. Some words also insert a vowel between the syllables of a polysyllabic word;

<b>Gloss</b>	<b>sg.</b>	<b>pl.</b>
okra	<b>zabla</b>	<b>i-zab-i-la</b>
shoe	<b>paksak</b>	<b>i-pak-ə-sak</b>
sweet potato	<b>damʃik</b>	<b>i-dam-ə-ʃik</b>

These may be infixes or simply a phonological extension of the syllable. None of these words are transparent compounds, but this may be their historical origin, in which case each element of the compound would have retained its plural prefix, with the second prefix undergoing centralisation in some environments.

All these processes are relatively rare compared with V/CV prefix alternation. The singular and plural prefixes identified so far are;

<b>Singular</b>	<b>Plural</b>	<b>Bantu classes</b>
<b>o-</b>	<b>ba-</b>	1/2
<b>di-</b>	<b>a-</b>	5/6
<b>ø-</b>	<b>i-</b>	
<b>du-</b>	<b>be-</b>	
<b>u-</b>		
<b>n-</b>		

Of these, the **i-** plural is dominant in the present sample.

## 5. Lexical comparison and the classification of Horom

The Horom language has traditionally been grouped together with Bo-Rukul [=Mabo-Barkul] and Fyem as part of SE Plateau. The first instance of the appears in Greenberg (1963:9) where Plateau 6 is deemed to consist of ‘Kaleri [=Horom], Pyem, Pai’. The BCCW and Williamson (1971:272) correctly expunge Pai [=Pe] a Tarokoid language and add Mabo. At the same time, the monograph on the Ron languages by Jungraithmayr (1970:297) refers to Horom, Mabôh and Mwah as two non-Chadic languages in the same

area. Mabôh is Mabo, but Mwa remains unknown. The term SE Plateau first appears in Hansford et al. (1976) and is repeated in all subsequent sources.

Nowhere, however, is there any demonstration that these three languages should be classified together in opposition to other Plateau languages. Indeed the notion of SE Plateau has recently been questioned by Nettle (in press) on the basis of 100-word lists of these languages. Nettle argues that although Horom and Fyem are clearly linked, lexicostatistic counts of Mabo with the other two are so low as to make it equally related to other nearby Plateau languages.

Note that Horom shows substantive cognates with both Fyem and Fyer, respectively Plateau and Chadic languages.

## 6. Horom wordlist

	Gloss	s.	pl.	Commentary
<b>No.</b>	<b>Nouns</b>			
1.	Tree	yyèrè	ì-yyèrè	
2.	Leaf	wáŋ	á-wáŋ	cf. Fyem <b>juwaŋ</b> , Pe <b>áwáŋ</b>
3.	Root	ù-líŋ	bè-líŋ-ì	cf. Fyem <b>líŋ</b> pl. <b>ɓaliŋ</b> , Cara <b>linga</b> , Berom <b>rwínis</b> , Tarok <b>aŋŋ</b> , Pe <b>liŋ</b> pl. <b>a-liŋ</b> . A root given by Westermann and reconstructible to Proto-Volta-Congo
4.	Branch	fò vyèrè	—	? + ‘tree’ (but why the v- ?)
5.	Bark (of tree)	ù-hùbù	bà-hùbù	
6.	Thorn	tòkòy	ì-tòkòy	
7.	Grass	jìjìk	—	
8.	Vine	títáŋà	bá-títáŋà	
9.	Mushroom	tùpwét	bà-tùpwét	
10.	Seed	bùt	ì-bùt	
11.	Charcoal	hyer	i-hyer	may be a weakened form of more widespread <b>#halaŋ</b> in Plateau, e.g. also Aten <b>hwel</b>
12.	Dust	uful	—	cf. Rukul <b>pururu</b> but relates to widespread <b>#furu</b> roots
13.	Ashes	tahar	i-tahar	perhaps related to widespread <b>#ta</b> or <b>#toŋ</b> roots (see BCCW, I).
14.	Rubbish Heap	abuk	—	perhaps cf. Kwanka <b>bura</b>
15.	Mud	bis	i-bis	
16.	Clay (For Pots)	bis	i-bis	? cf. Tarok <b>m̀bin</b> ‘soil’
17.	Hole (Ground)	đu-re	a-re	
18.	Dew	manziri	—	cf. Rukul <b>mmaŋ</b> , Tarok <b>imìmyàŋ</b> , Yaŋkam <b>myaŋ</b> but almost certainly going back to an ancient Niger-Congo root <b>#me-</b> [ ? <b>ziri</b> element]
19.	Stone	di-feŋ	a-feŋ	cf. Fyem <b>dicáŋ</b> pl. <b>acáŋ</b> , but also Pe <b>i-tsam</b> , Kenyi <b>ca-a</b> and Tyap cluster <b>#faŋ</b> roots, all reflexes of the ancient Niger-Congo root <b>#ta-</b> . The Tyap roots probably arise from the consonant alternation f/t, as in Berom <b>fwà</b> pl. <b>betà</b> .
20.	Sand	toŋ	—	N.B. Nettle (in press) gives <b>serémén</b>
21.	Smoke	fiŋ	i-fiŋ	cf. Bo <b>ifé</b> , Sur <b>nziŋ</b> , Pe <b>ntsaŋ</b> , Nandu <b>mesan</b> ,
22.	Fire	yidi	ba-yidi	
23.	Water	bamal	—	cf. Bo, Cara <b>mal</b> , also scattered occurrences in BC, e.g. Ura <b>mò</b> and Bokyi <b>ɔ-mo</b> . Widespread in S. Bauchi languages: Tala <b>maal</b> , Buli <b>màl</b> .
24.	Rain	usu	—	
25.	Cloud	sisip	—	
26.	Yesterday	hwore	—	
27.	Tomorrow	viŋ	—	cf. <b>fəŋ</b> ,
28.	Year	di-dyet	a-dyet	
29.	Day	wedé	—	? cf. Tarok <b>ndá</b>
30.	Night	fwat	—	Root appears in both Benue-Congo and Chadic. cf. Bokkos <b>fwo'</b> , Kulere <b>máfòd</b> . Also Jukunoid (e.g. Wase <b>afwi</b> ) and Tivoid (Abon <b>ɛ-fu</b> ).
31.	Moon/Month	u-fel	ba-pel-e	Note the consonant mutation. cf. Rukul <b>u-fye</b> , Fyem <b>fyél</b> , Bo <b>fye</b> , but this is an old Niger-Congo root. Also Ron, Sha, Kulere <b>#fen</b> though probably a loan into Chadic.

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	Gloss	s.	pl.	Commentary
32.	Sun	<b>uwi</b>	—	cf. Fyem <b>wíí</b> , Bo <b>wéy</b> , Cara <b>we</b> , Berom <b>gwey</b> . Perhaps Ron forms such as Bokkos <b>ḡwè</b> represent weakening if proto-form was <b>#gbwe</b>
33.	Star	<b>yele</b>	<b>i-yele</b>	
34.	Wind	<b>uhot</b>	—	
35.	God	<b>uwi</b>	—	see 'sun'
36.	Sky	<b>buso</b>	—	
37.	World	<b>iye</b>	—	
38.	Earth, Soil	<b>tele</b>	—	
39.	River	<b>u-lap</b>	<b>ba-lab-a</b>	
40.	Forest	<b>kḍrò</b>	<b>á-kḍrò</b>	scattered root in Benue-Congo. cf. Yoruba <b>oko</b> and Gokana <b>kòl</b> , perhaps also Hausa <b>kurmii</b>
41.	Land/Country	<b>u-syene</b>	<b>ba-syene</b>	
42.	Village	<b>yìn</b>	<b>ì-yìn</b>	cf. Yaṅkam <b>yìn</b>
43.	Compound	<b>kyèn</b>	<b>bà-kyèn-è</b>	
44.	House	<b>kòp</b>	<b>i-kop<sup>+</sup></b>	
45.	Wall	<b>ù-jìn</b>	<b>bà-jìn</b>	cf. Sur <b>gafì</b> , Pe <b>izindi</b>
46.	Roof	<b>sòt</b>	<b>à-sòt</b>	
47.	Road, Path	<b>ya</b>	<b>i-ya</b>	cf. Fyem <b>ya</b> pl. <b>yííya</b> . Also in Chadic: cf. Ngas <b>yòt ar</b>
48.	Field	<b>ḍi-gyi</b>	<b>ba-gyi</b>	
49.	Bush	<b>ù-háp</b>	<b>bà-háb-à</b>	this may be connected with the widespread Plateau root <b>#hai</b>
50.	Farm	<b>rámá</b>	<b>i-ramá</b>	cf. Fyem <b>rám</b> , Tarok <b>iràm</b> , Yaṅkam, Sur, Pe <b>ram</b> and other languages in this area. Ngas has <b>màr</b> which looks like metathesis
51.	Swamp	<b>ḍi-cak</b>	<b>a-cak</b>	cf. Tarok <b>icikṭak</b>
52.	Hill/Mountain	<b>ḍi-yini</b>	<b>a-yini</b>	
53.	Valley	<b>ḡata</b>	<b>ba-ḡata</b>	a widespread Nigerian term for 'swamp' e.g. Yoruba <b>bata</b>
54.	River Bank	<b>u-jiṅ</b>	<b>ba-jiṅ</b>	
55.	Lake	<b>gicanzin</b>	<b>ba-gicanzin</b>	
56.	Hunger	<b>yòṅṅ</b>	—	cf. Fyem <b>yóṅ</b> , Tarok <b>ayáṅ</b> , Mangar (Chadic) <b>yuṅ</b> and Hausa <b>yunwa</b> .
57.	Wing	<b>hòt</b>	<b>ù-hòt</b>	
58.	Feather	<b>màndùt</b>	<b>i-mandut</b>	
59.	Egg	<b>hyè</b>	<b>à-hyè</b>	cf. Rukul <b>ri-hye</b> , Fyer <b>hyés</b> , Goemai <b>haas</b> but also Fyem <b>ḍihí</b> , Bo <b>ḍi-hie</b> (in BCCW). These are probably weakened from an ancient Niger-Congo root <b>#-gyi</b> also found in Kordofanian
60.	Thirst	<b>umalhòt</b>	—	'water' + ?
61.	War, Fight	<b>ḍi-ḍur</b>	—	
62.	Death	<b>ḍuhu</b>	—	
63.	Work	<b>tom</b>	<b>i-tom</b>	cf. extremely widespread Niger-Congo root <b>#tom-</b>
64.	Story	<b>njòk</b>	<b>i-njòk</b>	? Pe <b>n-cok</b> 'song'
65.	Song	<b>u-sem</b>	<b>ba-sem-e</b>	
66.	Name	<b>ḍi-fá</b>	<b>à-fá</b>	cf. Fyem <b>ḍi-sá</b> . The <b>#sa-</b> element is widespread in Plateau and Kainji given as <b>#-tak</b> in BCCW, II. Perhaps also Chadic cf. D-B and others <b>súm</b>

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	Gloss	s.	pl.	Commentary
67.	Person	<b>nèsít</b>	<b>bè-nèsít</b>	cf. Nindem <b>nesít</b> , Pe <b>u-nsít</b> , Yaŋkam <b>nyít</b> , Yeskwa <b>unet</b> , Gana <b>net</b> . Roots for ‘person’ with initial n- can be reconstructed to PMC
68.	Man	<b>rom</b>	<b>ba-rom</b>	cf. Fyem <b>róm</b> pl. <b>ɓarom</b> but this is a very widespread Benue-Congo root for ‘man/male’, ‘person’ (see discussion in BCCW, II)
69.	Woman	<b>byer</b>	<b>ba-munya</b>	cf. Fyem <b>m-bíá</b> , Tamnyar Mambila <b>biàn</b> For pl. ? cf. Sha <b>'a-mûy</b>
70.	Child	<b>ùyèn</b>	<b>ba-fen</b>	cf. Tarok <b>ùyen</b> , PLC <b>*ó-yén</b> . The singular could be a weakening of many Plateau forms with an initial consonant. Also perhaps see Fyem <b>áyin</b> ‘mother’. Suppletive plurals are common in words for ‘child’
71.	Husband	<b>rom</b>	<b>ba-rom</b>	see ‘man’
72.	Wife	<b>byer</b>	<b>ba-munya</b>	see ‘woman’
73.	Mother	<b>wò</b>	<b>bà-wò-nè</b>	
74.	Father	<b>tè</b>	<b>bà-tè-nè</b>	cf. Fyem <b>áte</b> , PLC <b>*-té</b> . Mukarovsky reconstructs this to Proto-Atlantic-Congo.
75.	Son	<b>ùyèn</b>	<b>ba-sen</b>	see commentary under ‘child’
76.	Daughter	<b>ì-yèn</b>	<b>bá-yán</b>	presumably related to ‘child’
77.	Grandfather	<b>tè</b>	<b>bà-tè-nè</b>	see ‘father’
78.	Grandmother	<b>wài</b>	<b>bà-wài-nè</b>	
79.	Ancestors	—	<b>bà-hòlòndòmèt</b>	
80.	Friend	<b>ɗisi</b>	<b>bà-ɗisi-mò</b>	
81.	Guest	<b>hyèn</b>	<b>bà-hyèn</b>	cf. Fyem <b>cèn</b> pl. <b>ɓàcèn</b> , Tarok <b>ùndmɛin</b> (where <b>ùndm</b> is ‘person’), PLC <b>*kièn</b> , Mambiloid <b>kèn</b> , Nkɔɔ <b>ikèní</b> . Note the conservation of tone on this word. An old root, <b>#kyin-</b> , that goes back to Proto-Atlantic-Congo (PWN 129).
82.	Chief	<b>wès</b>	<b>bà-wès</b>	cf. Fyer <b>wel</b> . Probably a loan into Fyer. ? cf. Nizaa <b>wan</b>
83.	Doctor	<b>bwèn</b>	<b>bà-bwèn</b>	
84.	Blacksmith	<b>nèt-dùzúnó</b>	<b>bè-nèt-dùzúnó</b>	the <b>nèt</b> element means ‘person’
85.	Hunter	<b>nà-kùfàr</b>	<b>bè-nè-kùfàr</b>	
86.	Slave	<b>fén</b>	<b>bá-fén</b>	cf. LC <b>ifèn</b> , Len Mambila <b>mfè</b> . Also in Chadic: Ngas <b>nfwan</b>
87.	Thief	<b>gòs</b>	<b>bà-gòs</b>	
88.	Witch	<b>dùfwàt</b>	<b>bà-dùfwàt</b>	
89.	Widow	<b>ì-zè</b>	<b>bà-zè</b>	
90.	Barren Woman	<b>ɲgùrí</b>	<b>bà-ɲgùrí</b>	cf. Pe <b>u-kui</b> pl. <b>a-kui</b> , ? Mambiloid <b>dzuru</b>
91.	Shadow	<b>sulup</b>	<b>i-sulup</b>	? Fyem <b>ʃilúp</b>
92.	Corpse	<b>dù-fùn</b>	<b>á-fùn</b>	cf. Kwanka <b>pun</b> , Berom <b>rēvín</b> , Vute <b>fín</b> , Nizaa <b>fún</b> . Also in Chadic: Ron <b>fun</b> , Tsagu <b>vúnè</b>
93.	Masquerade I	<b>dòt</b>	<b>ì-dòt</b>	
94.	Masquerade II	<b>báfák</b>	<b>ì-báfák</b>	
95.	Masquerade III	<b>á-kòm</b>	<b>í-kòm</b>	
96.	Masquerade IV	<b>múdyè</b>	<b>í-múdyè</b>	
97.	Masquerade V	<b>múnzà</b>	—	
98.	Masquerade VI	<b>(ɲ)buŋbe</b>	<b>i-ɲbuŋbe</b>	

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	Gloss	s.	pl.	Commentary
99.	Fireplace	<b>a-fik</b>	<b>ba-fik-i</b>	cf. Fyem <b>đi-fik</b> pl. <b>a-fik</b>
100.	Firewood	<b>ì-yyèrè</b>	—	i.e. ‘trees’
101.	Disease	<b>đurɔ</b>	—	? cf. Fyem <b>đuhú</b> , Tarok <b>arwá</b>
102.	Sore / Wound	<b>u-cel</b>	<b>ba-cel-e</b>	cf. Ngas <b>cil</b>
103.	Diarrhoea	<b>sala</b>	—	
104.	Head	<b>đi-si</b>	<b>a-si</b>	# <b>si</b> is a common root throughout Benue-Congo, perhaps a series of independent weakenings of the more common # <b>tiCi</b> - root
105.	Cheek	<b>bàm</b>	<b>à-bam</b>	? cf. <b>a-gbā</b> ‘cheek’. Unless somehow related to Yiwom <b>bam</b> ‘ear’, or Vute <b>ɓùm ɓòò</b>
106.	Eye	<b>yo</b>	<b>i-yo</b>	cf. Ayu <b>i-jo</b> , Fyer <b>yuurù</b> . Widespread Chadic roots appear to be weakenings of initial forms such as Hausa ‘ <b>íðòò</b> ’.
107.	Nose	<b>wəl</b>	<b>a-wəl</b>	cf. Fyem <b>đu-wól</b> pl. <b>awól</b> , Bo <b>awol</b> , Pe <b>ti-yol</b> , Berom <b>wól</b> pl. <b>bāwól</b> , Cara <b>iqwul</b> , Ndoro <b>ɣwunà</b>
108.	Ear	<b>tòŋ</b>	<b>a-toŋ</b>	cf. Ningye <b>təŋ</b> , Fyem <b>hutóŋ</b> , Bo <b>utó</b> also throughout Tarokoid, but a PVC root # <b>tuN-</b> . Also reflected in Ron, cf. Sha ‘ <b>a-tôn</b> ’
109.	Mouth	<b>anu</b>	<b>anu</b>	cf. Fyem <b>núnŋ</b> , but a Niger-Congo root
110.	Lips	<b>anu bædu</b>	—	‘mouth’ + ?
111.	Tooth	<b>đi-yin</b>	<b>a-yin</b>	a Niger-Saharan root (Blench 1996)
112.	Tongue	<b>đi-rém</b>	<b>a-rém</b>	cf. Bo <b>de-rem</b> , Pe <b>ti-lem</b> , Yaŋkam <b>rem</b> and widespread in Plateau. An Atlantic-Congo root
113.	Face	<b>ì-yó</b>	—	see ‘eyes’
114.	Forehead	<b>yis</b>	<b>a-yis</b>	? cf. Ngas <b>yət</b>
115.	Neck	<b>đi-sító</b>	<b>ba-sito</b>	
116.	Throat	<b>ŋguret</b>	<b>ba-ŋguret</b>	# <b>goro</b> forms are found throughout Africa (Blench 1996)
117.	Chin	<b>mànzém</b>	—	
118.	Shoulder	<b>pyàrà</b>	<b>ì-pyàrà</b>	# <b>kpa-</b> is a widespread root for ‘shoulder’ in Niger-Congo.
119.	Armpit	<b>gigyelek</b>	<b>i-gigyelek</b>	cf. Rukul <b>geget</b> , but also in Chadic: Daffo <b>gigyâl</b>
120.	Arm	<b>ò-tùŋ</b>	<b>bà-tùŋ</b>	
121.	Hand	<b>u-ɓo</b>	<b>a-ɓo</b>	cf. Fyem <b>huɓó</b> , Bo <b>ubóx</b> , Proto-Bantu <b>-bóko</b> . A widespread root in Niger-Congo (BCCW, I:6) for ‘arm’ or ‘hand’
122.	Elbow	<b>đu-kəlɓ</b>		
123.	Leg	<b>kwèʃ</b>	<b>ì-kwèʃ</b>	cf. Yaŋkam <b>kwi</b> , Yashi <b>kis</b> , and Jarawan Bantu # <b>kusu</b>
124.	Foot	<b>u-fol</b>	<b>a-fol</b>	cf. Fyem <b>đufór</b> , Bo <b>fol</b> . perhaps cf. Njerep <b>fɔɓ</b> ‘thigh’, Ayu <b>ihol</b> , ? Doka <b>o-fere</b> . See discussion in BCCW, 55. perhaps cf. Njerep <b>fɔɓ</b> ‘thigh’. Also in Chadic: Daffo <b>fūr</b> , Fyer <b>furù</b>
125.	Thigh	<b>du-fui</b>	<b>a-fui</b>	cf. Daffo <b>fùur</b> . perhaps cf. Njerep <b>fɔɓ</b> as above
126.	Knee	<b>durum</b>	<b>a-durum</b>	cf. Fyem <b>đurúm</b> pl. <b>arúm</b> , Bo <b>rurum</b> , Yaŋkam <b>ruŋ</b> , Tarok <b>irij</b> . Reconstructed as # <b>rúnù</b> in East Benue-Congo in Blench (ms.) Also in Chadic: Kulere ‘ <b>arôm</b> ’, Tangale <b>purum</b> and Mupun <b>fùrùm</b> . This is so widespread in Chadic that the # <b>rum</b> element may have been loaned into Plateau and its prefix re-analysed. Hence the d/d/r correspondences.
127.	Nail	<b>para</b>	<b>a-para</b>	cf. PLC * <b>ùbàrà</b>
128.	Skin	<b>hɔr</b>	<b>bà-hɔr-ɔ</b>	perhaps a weakening of various roots for ‘skin’ that being with a # <b>ko-</b> element

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	Gloss	s.	pl.	Commentary
129.	Chest	kàcík	ì-kàcík	? cf. Tarok ìkóksók
130.	Breast (Female)	màmà	ì-màmà	cf. Fyem mómá pl. <b>ba-mómá</b> , also Vute <b>maà</b> and related forms in Mambiloid. Also in Chadic: Hausa <b>màamáá</b> and Zaar <b>màama</b>
131.	Belly	là	ì-là	a Niger-Congo root, originally meaning ‘intestine’. However, its retention does seem to mark SE Plateau in the region (see BCCW). Cf. Yaŋkam <b>lwak</b> although also Bokkos <b>daár</b>
132.	Navel	kòm	à-kòm	cf. Pe, Tarok <b>igum</b> , Yaŋkam <b>kum</b> , also PLC *-kóp, Nizaa <b>kómni</b> , Vute <b>cómè</b> . Also in Chadic: Mwaghavul <b>kúm</b> , Tangale <b>kúmbi</b>
133.	Back	vài	bà-vài	
134.	Waist	đi-jàŋ	ba-jàŋ	Reconstructed to Proto-Benue-Congo as #- <b>ŋim</b> (Blench ms.).
135.	Buttocks	đu-ŋvən	ba-ŋvən	
136.	Penis	funduk	ì-funduk	?? by semantic shift from Chadic forms for thigh, e.g. Kirfi <b>fòndó</b> , Galambu <b>pèndá</b> . or cf. PB #- <b>bodó</b>
137.	Vagina	póré	ì-póré	cf. Fyem <b>bùr</b> ‘penis’, Sur <b>fwən</b> , Nizaa <b>fūr</b>
138.	Bone	húp	á-húp	cf. Fyem <b>huhúp</b> pl. <b>ahúp</b> , probably weakened from the more widespread <b>#kup</b> . Cf. Bo <b>ukúp</b> , Pe <b>ukup</b> , Tarok <b>akúp</b> and Yaŋkam <b>kup</b> and PB #- <b>kubi</b>
139.	Heart	tùt	ì-tùt	Blench (ms.) reconstructs #- <b>duN-</b> for Proto-Benue-Congo which may well be related. Also cf. Ngas <b>dur</b>
140.	Body	tòm	ì-tòm	cf. Fyem <b>hùtòm</b> , PB #- <b>timba</b>
141.	Lungs	fùfùlòk	ì-fùfùlòk	cf. Sur <b>fufwak</b> , Somie <b>fùfú</b> . Mukarovsky gives evidence for reconstruction to Proto-Atlantic-Congo level (PWN 480). Also Chadic: Hausa <b>huhu</b> and other. Forms including <b>fu-</b> are very common and may include a phonaesthetic element.
142.	Stomach	la	ì-la	an ancient Niger-Congo root. See also ‘belly’
143.	Liver	ázò	—	cf. Fyem <b>đu-zo</b> pl. <b>a-zo</b> , perhaps Bo <b>ahor</b>
144.	Blood	đáyì	—	? cf. PLC *- <b>yíp</b>
145.	Saliva	bètè	—	
146.	Tear	vewene	—	
147.	Shit	sìmin	đi-sìmin	cf. ? Igboid <b>ñ-sj</b> though if <b>sì-</b> is a frozen prefix this would not hold.
148.	Hair (Head)	siken	đi-siken	cf. Fyem <b>ŋikén</b> but similar roots are widespread in Chadic which is likely to be the source. cf. Goemai <b>ŋyulka</b> , Kulere <b>ŋúkùl</b> , Kirfi <b>ŋukka</b>
149.	Urine	bà-lùsòndò	—	
150.	Breath	molo	—	
151.	Animal	nàm	ì-nàm	an ancient Niger-Congo root
152.	Tail	ḃèl	bà-ḃèl	cf. Kulere <b>byéèl</b> . This is also isolated in Chadic, and Bo, Fyem have a common root <b>#dum</b>
153.	Horn	wùrí	ì-wùrí	? cf. Fyem <b>wáráŋ</b>
154.	Goat	ḃòl	ì-ḃòl	cf. Rukul <b>ì-bwol</b> , Fyem <b>bʷol</b> , Tarok <b>ìḃìl</b> , Pe <b>ìḃwel</b> but an old Niger-Congo root
155.	He-Goat	pìk	ì-pìk	widespread in Benue-Congo either as #- <b>pi</b> or #- <b>kpi</b>
156.	Castrated Goat	dèl	ì-dèl	
157.	Sheep	fùrùn	ì-fùrùn	

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	Gloss	s.	pl.	Commentary
158.	Ram	gàm	ì-gàm	This root occurs both in Chadic and Benue-Congo cf. Goemai <b>gaam</b> , Ngas <b>ngem</b> , but also Berom <b>gám</b> , Tarok <b>ìngàm</b>
159.	Cow	róndó	í-róndó	this root is widespread in both Plateau and adjacent Chadic languages
160.	Bull	róndó rómó	í-róndó rómó	i.e. 'male cow'
161.	Dog	bù	í-bù	An ancient Niger-Congo root
162.	Cat	mùs	ì-mùs	cf. Ngas <b>mus</b> . A common term in this region originally derived from Hausa
163.	Pig*	lèdè	ì-lede	< Hausa
164.	Horse*	mòtòŋ	ì-mòtòŋ	cf. Rukul <b>maretom</b>
165.	Donkey*	jakí	í-jákí	< Hausa
166.	Patas Monkey	cèm	ì-cem	cf. Pe <b>ikee</b> , Yaŋkam <b>kim</b> , Tarok <b>ìsim</b>
167.	Elephant	ndurka	—	
168.	Buffalo	yat	ì-yat	cf. Rukul <b>ì-yàt</b> , Cara <b>ì-yàt</b> pl. <b>yat</b> , Yaŋkam <b>yvet</b> , reflections of a more widespread root <b>#-yati</b> in East Benue-Congo. Also in WBC e.g. Nupe <b>eya</b> . See also Daffo <b>yàt</b>
169.	Hippopotamus	nírí	—	This is probably related to widespread <b>#nyi-</b> roots for 'elephant' since hippo is often 'elephant of the water'. cf. Tarok <b>ñniŋ</b> , Ningye <b>ni</b> , Ake <b>niŋye</b>
170.	Lion	yímá	í-yímá	cf. Rukul <b>nyip</b> , Yaŋkam <b>yim</b>
171.	Leopard	kyè	í-kyè	cf. Rukul <b>ì-kwi</b> , presumably related to old Niger-Congo root <b>#-gbe, -kpe</b>
172.	Jackal	sérébél	ì-sérébél	
173.	Hyena	kura	a-kura	< H.
174.	Wart-Hog	tímbíríŋ	í-tímbíríŋ	
175.	Civet	pón	í-pón	
176.	Baboon	káù	ì-káù	cf. Pe <b>ikaa</b> , Yaŋkam <b>ka</b> , Tarok <b>ika</b> . This root is found elsewhere for 'monkey', e.g. Nupe <b>kána</b> . cf. Also Mwaghavul <b>kaar</b> (patas monkey)
177.	Green Monkey	cáráŋ	í-cáráŋ	cf. forms in both Benue-Congo and Chadic: Tarok <b>ìkiràm</b> , Bokkos <b>kyerâŋ</b>
178.	Squirrel	rurek	ì-rurek	
179.	Antelope (1)	dòŋ	ì-dòŋ	
180.	Antelope (2)	kurun	ì-kurun	
181.	Antelope (3)	tap	ì-tap	cf. Tarok <b>ìtep</b> 'duiker', Ngas <b>tep</b>
182.	Antelope (4)	bap	ì-bap	cf. Ngas <b>pep</b> , Mwaghavul <b>pààb</b> , Fyer <b>faf</b>
183.	Rat (Generic)	kí	í-kí	cf. Alumu <b>ì-kwi</b> , Hasha <b>ì-kwi</b> , Fyem <b>k<sup>wi</sup></b> , Pe <b>ikuu</b> , probably also Tarok <b>ìpi</b> . + LC
184.	Giant Rat	kwede	ì-kwede	cf. Cara <b>ki-gut</b> , Rukul <b>a-hotò</b> , Yaŋkam <b>ikot</b> , Sur <b>kwor</b>
185.	Musk Shrew	mátútùlù	ì-matutulu	
186.	Cane Rat	bèbè	ì-bèp	cf. Tarok <b>ìbyap</b> . Reconstructed as <b>#-bibe</b> in Proto-Benue-Congo in Blench (ms.)
187.	Porcupine	kpèp	ì-kpèp	cf. Tarok <b>ìkpya</b>
188.	Hedgehog	màrhù tòkòì	ì- marhu tokoi	
189.	Hare	ñ-zòm	ì-zom	Cf. Cara <b>izum</b> , Tarok <b>izum</b> , but a root widespread within Plateau, also Hausa <b>zómóó</b>

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	Gloss	s.	pl.	Commentary
190.	Bat	kámbè	dí-kámbè	
191.	Tortoise	móróhú	i-móróhú	
192.	Crocodile	njorom	i-njorom	cf. Rukul ñ-jòròm, Fyer 'ñhòròm, Daffo hàrààm. These are weakenings of a more general Chadic form e.g. Dera káràm, Hona kiràṅa. The prefix in Fyer is an oddity, and it may be the word was loaned into Horom, acquired a prefix and was loaned back into Fyer.
193.	Snake	u-fya	ba-fya	see next entry
194.	Snake I	yò	iyò	reconstructed as generic for 'snake' in Benue-Congo as #-yoCo (RMB)
195.	Cobra	bì	ì-bì	cf. Tarok ìpì
196.	Frog	nzyor	i-nzyor	? Tarok ìzər
197.	Toad	bàktàk	i-bàktàk	
198.	Agama Lizard	gyàṅà	i-gyàṅà	cf. Nupe gyama <sup>+</sup> 'chamæleon',
199.	Gecko	sàṅbúk	ì-sàṅbúk	
200.	Chameleon	karànguṅ	i-karànguṅ	cf. Rukul u-kwaṅan
201.	Bosc's Monitor <i>damo</i>	bìbar	ì-bìbàr	
202.	Skink	bùṅbàṅ	i-bùṅbàṅ	
203.	Giant Snail	kurkwat	i-kurkwat	
204.	Crab (Water)	kósók	i-kósók	
205.	Fish	sérép	í-sérép	cf. Bo sérép
206.	H. <i>kurungu</i>	pák	á-pák	
207.	'Catfish'	ngót	í-ngót	
208.	Electric Fish	bubuk	i-bubuk	
209.	Bird	nòn	ì-nòn	cf. Bo anón, Tarok inyil, Pe i-nol, Yaṅkam noi A common Benue-Congo root also found in Bantu. Mukarovksy (II, 405) gives examples that suggest a reconstruction to Proto-Volta-Congo.
210.	Chicken	kòṅgò	ì-kòṅgò	cf. Yaṅkam gwoṅa, Berom cono but also Yiwom kəṅ
211.	Cock	bwet	i-bwet	cf. Rukul à-bwèt
212.	Duck	gwagwa	i-gwagwa	< Hausa
213.	Pigeon	tàbók	à-tàbók	
214.	Guinea-Fowl	joṅ	i-joṅ	cf. Geji (Chadic) joṅ although this is likely to be a loan into Chadic, since there are no other clear cognates. The best Benue-Congo cognates are in the Kainji languages, e.g. cLela ryògnò, perhaps also Mbe è-yíṅ
215.	Vulture	jèm	i-jèm	
216.	Black Kite	pánzàṅ	í-pánzàṅ	
217.	Scorpion	kárámán	ì-kárámán	cf. Hausa kunama
218.	Butterfly	dí-kàmbè	bà-kàmbè	
219.	Mosquito	fwèṅ	ì-fwèṅ	
220.	Spider	yùm	ì-yùm	cf. Berom yũ,
221.	Mason Wasp	vèrvì	ì-vèrvì	cf. Rukul amvi,
222.	Bee	sèkè	ì-sèkè	cf. Berom šòk, Ningye so, Bu išo, Izere išoṣ pl. išoṣ, Hasha i-suk
223.	Sand-Fly	gumuṣ	i-gumuṣ	
224.	Sweatfly	ù-tàbà	bà-tàbà	

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	Gloss	s.	pl.	Commentary
225.	Housefly	<b>cij</b>	<b>i-cij</b>	cf. Tarok <b>icijcij</b> , Bu <b>cinci</b> , Berom <b>cij</b> . Reconstructed as #-ciN to Proto-Benue-Congo in Blench (ms.). Also in Chadic: Ngas <b>nji</b> , Mwaghavul <b>ndifji</b> , Tangale <b>tijn</b>
226.	Louse	<b>bwèlè</b>	<b>i-bwèl</b>	
227.	Millipede	<b>jijingunya</b>	<b>i-jijingunya</b>	
228.	Cockroach	<b>bàrà</b>	<b>i-bàrà</b>	
229.	Cricket, Giant	<b>màm</b>	<b>i-màm</b>	
230.	Ant (Generic)	<b>kirkàs</b>	<b>i-kirkàs</b>	
231.	Termite	<b>dī-tàn</b>	<b>à-tàn</b>	cf. Pe <b>i-kataan</b> , Tarok <b>inàntàn</b> , and see below
232.	Flying Ant	<b>kùm</b>	<b>i-kùm</b>	cf. Rukul <b>ikum</b> ,
233.	Termite Hill	<b>li dītàn</b>	<b>i-li dītàn</b>	cf. Ningye <b>dan</b> , Pe <b>i-kataan</b> , Yaŋkam <b>daan</b> , Tarok <b>aguñ inantan</b> , Kente <b>etã</b> ,
234.	Praying Mantis	<b>bùkùì</b>	<b>i-bùkùì</b>	
235.	Oil	<b>tifép</b>	—	cf. Rukul <b>afep</b> , Cara <b>ibip</b> , Hasha <b>e-fef</b> ‘fat’, Tarok <b>m̄pip</b> ‘animal fat’, Chawai <b>bap</b> , Samba Nnakenyare <b>byep</b> . Reconstructed to East Benue-Congo as #-byep in Blench (ms.)
236.	Fat	<b>baa sele</b>		Probably a compound since Bokkos, Daffo have <b>mbaar</b>
237.	Salt	<b>mà</b>	<b>i-mà</b>	cf. Fyem <b>ma</b> , Rukul <b>mmok</b> , Alumu <b>mma</b> , Tarok <b>m̄màn</b> , but also Fulfulde <b>manda</b>
238.	Meat, Flesh	<b>dī-nàm</b>	<b>bà-nàm</b>	an ancient Niger-Congo root, widespread in Plateau
239.	Soup	<b>bòbò</b>	—	
240.	Food	<b>dýár</b>	<b>i-dýè</b>	see the verb ‘to eat’ <b>dye</b>
241.	Sorghum Beer	<b>kwàbà</b>	—	
242.	Palm-Wine	<b>málfóló</b>	—	water + oil-palm
243.	Bundle	<b>dī-bwát</b>	<b>bá-bwád-á</b>	
244.	Cloth (Wrapper)	<b>u-kini</b>	<b>ba-kini</b>	
245.	Bag (Types)	<b>du-kuru</b>	<b>a-kuru</b>	
246.	Basket (General)	<b>kan</b>	<b>i-kan</b>	cf. Proto-Ijò <b>kànà</b>
247.	Head-Pad	<b>dī-kat</b>	<b>a-kat</b>	an ancient Niger-Congo root
248.	Broom	<b>u-wes</b>	<b>ba-wes</b>	cf. Fyem <b>wis</b> , Rukul <b>sisà</b> ,
249.	Mortar	<b>u-duŋ</b>	<b>ba-duŋ-ɔ</b>	cf. Pe <b>utuŋ</b> , Tarok <b>atúm</b> , Sur <b>guzuŋ</b> . The two words seem to be reversed in Fyem, thus Fyem <b>huđuŋ</b> ‘pestle’ and <b>tun</b> ‘mortar’. This is likely to be an old Niger-Congo root derived from the verb ‘to pound’. Hausa <b>túrmíí</b> may be from this source.
250.	Shoe	<b>paksak</b>	<b>i-pak-ə-sak</b>	cf. Rukul <b>i-kpakəsak</b> , Fyem <b>k<sup>w</sup>arzák</b> , Yaŋkam <b>taxap</b> , Pe <b>kap</b> , Tarok <b>akwàp</b> also Ngas <b>kap</b>
251.	Hat, Cap	<b>kanbil</b>	<b>i-kanbil</b>	
252.	Pestle	<b>u-tun</b>	<b>a-tun</b>	see previous entry
253.	Grindstone (Lower)	<b>dī-ŋɛhɔŋɔ</b>	<b>a-ŋɛhɔŋɔ</b>	The <b>hɔŋɔ</b> element is the verb ‘to grind’
254.	Pot (Generic)	<b>pes</b>	<b>i-pes</b>	cf. Rukul <b>a-piŋa</b> ,
255.	Needle (Thatching)	<b>bwi</b>	<b>ba-bwi-ye</b>	cf. Tarok <b>m̄búyir</b>
256.	Handle (Of Tool)	<b>musu</b>	<b>ba-musu</b>	cf. Rukul <b>musa</b>

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	Gloss	s.	pl.	Commentary
257.	Cutlass	kòn	ì-kòn	
258.	Iron (Metal)	tìcèt	—	cf. Rukul <b>abenceŋ</b> , Pe <b>iseisit</b> . The Ron languages have #céf which is probably cognate, assuming the <b>ti-</b> is an old prefix
259.	Axe	gíví	í-gíví	cf. Yaŋkam <b>gi</b>
260.	Adze	kàr	ì-kàr	cf. Tarok <b>ìkər</b> , Yaŋkam <b>pikas</b>
261.	Hoe (Gen)	kyák	í-kyák	
262.	Hoes (Types)	pyár	í-pyár	
263.	Knife	mbuk	ba-mbuk-u	probably the more widespread root for ‘knife’ #bu-
264.	Bow	u-ta	a-ta	an ancient Niger-Congo root, though see also Daffo <b>ḡàar</b> (presumably a loan)
265.	Arrow	gàbà	ì-gàbà	cf. Bo <b>hwab</b> but probably more generally related to #kap forms found in Benue-Congo
266.	Quiver	ḡàgbà	ì-ḡàgbà	cf. Rukul <b>zəŋbɔ</b>
267.	Rope	ù-zòr	bà-zòr-ò	
268.	Granary	ŋgatam	ba-ŋgatam	
269.	Door	kèn kubok	bà-kèn-è ~	cf. Fyem <b>hak<sup>w</sup>én</b>
270.	Stool	tèndèt	bà-tèndèt	
271.	Bed	gàŋ	ì-gàŋ	
272.	Mat ( <i>Zana</i> )	ú-jír	bá-jír-ì	
273.	Mat (Sleeping)	á-vwá	bá-vwá	
274.	Ladder	tèŋ	i-tèŋ	
275.	Canoe	u-bit	ba-bit-i	
276.	Paddle	u-suru	ba-suru	
277.	Money	a-cèt	ba-cèt	cf. Pe <b>i-tsésit</b>
278.	Fish-Trap	sal	i-sal	
279.	Spear (Types)	ḡi-kwaŋ	a-kwaŋ	cf. Pe <b>ikwak</b> , but a more general Niger-Congo root reconstructed to PMC as #kpaN in Blench (ms.)
280.	Poison	yéré	ì-yéré	? cf. Fyem <b>seré</b> , Pe <b>yaŋa</b>
281.	To Poison	tàm		
282.	Stick	səsa	ba-səsa	
283.	One	ten		cf. cLela <b>ciŋ</b> , Wase <b>zuŋ</b> , Tarok <b>zin</b>
284.	Two	pwa		cf. Fyem <b>pór</b> , Tarok <b>ùpàríim</b> . Also in Chadic: Fyer <b>poo</b> . These are forms of the widespread Niger-Congo #ba root, usually realised as #fa in Plateau
285.	Three	tat		A Niger-Congo root
286.	Four	naas		A Niger-Congo root found in this form in Plateau languages of the region
287.	Five	tɔɔn		A Niger-Congo root found in this form in Plateau languages of the region
288.	Six	taran		cf. Fyem <b>táarin</b> , also Fyer <b>táán</b> , both of which are connected with the widespread Plateau root #taani and may have originally represented a reduplicated version of the word for ‘three’
289.	Seven	tamvan		cf. Fyem <b>támor</b> , Bo <b>tafar</b> , Yeskwa <b>tonva</b> . These words must originally have been compounds but the elements are no longer transparent in Horom

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	Gloss	s.	pl.	Commentary
290.	Eight	<b>syet</b>		cf. Rukul <b>syen</b> ‘six’
291.	Nine	<b>taras</b>		cf. Fyem <b>téres</b> , but also Che <b>ataras</b> , Doka <b>o-tara</b> and found in compounds in other numbers (see Rukul ‘seven’) and presumably all interconnected with Hausa <b>tàrà</b> . BCCW (111) supposes these are simply borrowed from Hausa, but it seems possible they were borrowed by Hausa from Plateau.
292.	Ten	<b>iyot</b>		? cf. Bo <b>rot</b>
293.	Eleven	<b>no-ten</b>		? + 1
294.	Twelve	<b>no-pwa</b>		? + 2
295.	Twenty	<b>yot-pwa</b>		10 x 2
296.	Thirty	<b>yot-tat</b>		10 x 3
297.	Forty	<b>yot-naas</b>		10 x 4
298.	Hundred	<b>nis-ten</b>		? + 1
299.	Accompany	<b>ʃe</b>		
300.	Add To	<b>kale</b>		cf. Pe <b>kaɲa</b> , Sur <b>kaɲ</b>
301.	Arrive	<b>ʃe</b>		see commentary under ‘come’
302.	Ask (Question)	<b>mwe</b>		cf. Bu <b>mye</b> also <b>#mbe</b> forms found in Jukunoid and Cross River
303.	Awaken (s.o.)	<b>yana</b>		cf. Fyem <b>yila</b> , Rukul <b>yala</b> , and ? Sur <b>yem</b>
304.	Be pregnant	<b>ɖicin</b>		
305.	Beat (drum)	<b>wɔm</b>		
306.	Beat (s.o.)	<b>wɔm</b>		
307.	Beg	<b>hɔt</b>		
308.	Begin	<b>dek</b>		
309.	Bite	<b>ɖyɔt</b>		cf. Fyem <b>ɖót</b> , Ayu <b>rɔt</b> . Although not recognised in BCCW, this forms a set with Berom <b>rot</b> and Irigwe <b>ryo</b> and possibly Akpet <b>ro</b> . All may ultimately derive from the loss of the final nasal on forms related to PB <b>#-dum-</b> which appears as <b>#-rom-</b> in some Plateau languages
310.	Bitter, to be	<b>lɔs</b>		
311.	Blow (wind)	<b>wil</b>		cf. Fyem <b>wer</b> , Sur <b>wuri</b> , Yaɲkam <b>wurok</b> , Berom <b>wolom</b> <sup>+</sup>
312.	Blow (mouth)	<b>wil</b>		see above
313.	Boil	<b>ɖul</b>		
314.	Breathe	<b>mɔl</b>		
315.	Build (House)	<b>lɔ</b>		cf. Fyem <b>lo</b> , Berom <b>lɔk</b> , Kwanka <b>lok</b> and Irigwe <b>nò</b> . Also Chadic: Fyer <b>làt</b> , Kulere <b>làs</b>
316.	Burn 1.	<b>ɖyele</b>		cf. Mande <b>yɛniɲ</b> , Ijò ( <b>ɪ</b> - <b>dyɔkɪ</b> )
317.	Burn 2.	<b>fwasa</b>		cf. Horom <b>fuɟ</b> , Berom <b>fwúɟ</b> ‘burn food’, Fyem <b>fuɟ</b> , Also Chadic: Fyer <b>fwaɟ</b> . Probably a loan into Fyer as the root is isolated.
318.	Bury	<b>li</b>		cf. Tarok <b>li</b> <sup>+</sup> but a common Benue-Congo root. Given by Westermann for Proto-Benue-Congo, but also in Ijoid as Proto-Ijò <b>#ɖibi</b> . Discussed in Williamson (1992)
319.	Buy (General)	<b>rap</b>		cf. Fyem <b>rɛp</b> , Bu <b>rɛ</b> , Cara <b>rep</b> , Ningye <b>rep</b> but widespread in BC and reconstructed as <b>#-rɛp-</b> in Blench (ms.). Discussed in Gerhardt (1983) and also found in some neighbouring Chadic languages.
320.	Call (Summon)	<b>bek</b>		

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	Gloss	s.	pl.	Commentary
321.	Carry (child on back)	<b>mba</b>		
322.	Carry (Load)	<b>fal</b>		cf. Fyem <b>fal</b> ,
323.	Carve (Wood)	<b>sep</b>		cf. Fyem <b>sep</b> , but widespread in Plateau, e.g. Kulu, Nindem, Kwanka <b>sep</b> and Jju <b>ʃab</b> , Cara <b>ʃipal</b> , Ningye, Bu <b>ʃe</b> , Pe <b>ʃap</b> , Hasha <b>sep</b>
324.	Catch	<b>wum</b>		cf. Fyem <b>wum</b> ,
325.	Chew	<b>ʃar</b>		cf. Yaṅkam <b>saṅ</b>
326.	Choose	<b>gɔ</b>		
327.	Climb	<b>fɔm</b>		A scattered root in Plateau, cf. Yaṅkam <b>fwɔm</b> , Fyem <b>fùŋ</b> , Yeskwa <b>fó</b> , Hyam <b>fó-r</b> , and Che <b>hu</b>
328.	Close (Door)	<b>gen</b>		cf. Tarok <b>gún</b>
329.	Come	<b>ɓe</b>		cf. Tarok <b>ɓá</b> , Rukul <b>ba</b> , Fyem <b>ɓé</b> , Yaṅkam <b>ɓi</b> , but a widespread root reconstructible at least to Proto-Atlantic-Congo. Also Chadic: Yiwom <b>bèl</b> , Kulere <b>bo</b>
330.	Continue (to do s.t.)	<b>ɗisa</b>		
331.	Cook	<b>vini</b>		
332.	Count	<b>kɔr</b>		cf. Fyem <b>kor</b> , Tarok <b>kúŋ</b> , Kwanka <b>kori</b> , Abuan <b>-kɔɔl</b> and Rindre <b>-kla</b> . All these are versions of a root <b>#-kaLa</b> widespread in Niger-Congo. Also in Chadic: Kofyar <b>kún</b> , general North Bauchi <b>kɔn-</b> , Zaar <b>kunaan</b>
333.	Cover (Pot)	<b>dus</b>		
334.	Cut (Rope)	<b>can</b>		cf. Fyem <b>kar</b> but also Ngas, Mwaghavul <b>can</b>
335.	Cut (Wood)	<b>hai</b>		cf. D-B, Sha, Kulere <b>hay</b>
336.	Cut Down (Tree)	<b>hai</b>		as above
337.	Cut Off (Head)	<b>pwer</b>		cf. Rukul <b>pyat</b> , Toro <b>kpere</b>
338.	Dance	<b>yi</b>		? cf. Kadara <b>ya</b> , Nupe <b>nyá</b> <sup>+</sup>
339.	Defecate	<b>fwen</b>		
340.	Descend	<b>tɔr</b>		cf. Common Ron <b>#door</b>
341.	Die	<b>ku</b>		an ancient Niger-Congo root
342.	Dig	<b>sim</b>		See also 'uproot'. Fyem <b>cin</b> , Berom <b>cīŋ</b> , Yaṅkam <b>suŋ</b> , Sur <b>ʃiŋ</b> , Tesu <b>ʃumu</b> , Kulu <b>cem</b> ,
343.	Divide (Share Out)	<b>kara</b>		also 'split' Common in both Chadic and Benue-Congo. cf. common Ron <b>#kar</b> . Plateau <b>#kap</b> , Tarok <b>kak</b> <sup>+</sup> 'smash'
344.	Do/Make	<b>ɗisa</b>		
345.	Draw (Water)	<b>hye</b>		
346.	Dream	<b>ara</b>		
347.	Drink	<b>sɔ</b>		A common root shared by both Chadic and Plateau, probably originally Chadic (cf. Gerhardt 1983) cf. Fyer <b>ʃo</b> , Ninzo <b>so</b> .
348.	Drop	<b>te</b>		
349.	Dry In Sun	<b>tene</b>		cf. Berom <b>tènè</b> , also Lungu <b>térá</b> and Nindem <b>tét</b>
350.	Eat	<b>ɗye</b>		cf. Fyem <b>ɗyé</b> , Bo <b>ré</b> , linked to the widespread <b>-ri</b> , <b>-di</b> roots found in Niger-Congo
351.	Enter	<b>bukin</b>		cf. Pe <b>buŋ</b> but also Igbooid <b>#bVNa</b>
352.	Extinguish	<b>risi</b>		the first element may be connected with the old Niger-Congo <b>#-lim-</b>

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	Gloss	s.	pl.	Commentary
353.	Fall (Rain)	<b>fwa</b>		Unless Ron group <b>fur</b> is cognate
354.	Fall	<b>hwa</b>		cf. Toro <b>hwa</b> , Fyem <b>hó</b> , Aten <b>hwə̀</b> , Berom <b>hwò</b> ('fall on top of s.t.), Yashi <b>hu</b>
355.	Fear	<b>mwet</b>		
356.	Feel (cold etc.)	<b>lese (set)</b>		
357.	Filter (Beer)	<b>siŋ</b>		
358.	Finish (Task)	<b>mək</b>		cf. Rukul <b>mək</b>
359.	Flow (Water)	<b>be</b>		
360.	Fly	<b>yala</b>		cf. Fyem <b>yila</b> , Pe, Sur <b>yel</b> , Tarok <b>yel</b> + 'float'
361.	Fold (e.g. cloth)	<b>gili</b>		cf. Fyem <b>ŋgar</b> ,
362.	Follow (Behind)	<b>zup</b>		cf. Pe <b>ʃop</b> , but also Tangale <b>səpe</b>
363.	Forget	<b>tembis</b>		
364.	Fry (In Oil)	<b>halaŋ</b>		cf. Fyem, Aten <b>halaŋ</b> , Bu <b>kla</b> and Yala <b>hà</b> . These are widespread weakenings of the Niger-Congo root <b>#ka(la)</b> and have occurred independently. <b>#ka-</b> is also found in the North Bauchi languages
365.	Gather (Things)	<b>suk</b>		
366.	Get (Obtain)	<b>tar</b>		cf. Fyem <b>ta</b> ,
367.	Give	<b>ne</b>		cf. Fyem <b>ní</b> . <b>#na</b> is widespread throughout Plateau, but see also Tangale <b>oni</b> .
368.	Give Birth	<b>mwi</b>		cf. Fyem <b>m<sup>wi</sup></b> , presumably local forms of a widespread <b>#ma-</b> root
369.	Go (Finally)	<b>rus or tek</b>		
370.	Go Out/Exit	<b>đu</b>		cf. Fyem <b>đu</b> , Yaŋkam <b>turuk</b> , and Ekoid M <b>đuù</b> but also Chadic: Bokkos <b>đu</b> , Fyer <b>đoo</b>
371.	Greet (salute)	<b>tenjel</b>		
372.	Grind	<b>həŋə</b>		
373.	Grow (plants)	<b>həp</b>		cf. Fyem <b>həp</b> ,
374.	Hatch (Egg)	<b>mbu</b>		cf. Fyem <b>pumbwa</b> ,
375.	Have	<b>bit</b>		
376.	Hear	<b>wə</b>		cf. Fyem <b>wə</b> . Reconstructed to Proto-Benue-Congo as <b>#gbó</b> in Blench (ms.) but regularly reduced to <b>wó</b> . Discussed in Williamson (1992)
377.	Heavy, To Be	<b>resen</b>		If the <b>-s-</b> is an infix then this may be cognate with Plateau forms such as Yashi <b>rin</b>
378.	Hide (V)	<b>dan</b>		
379.	Hoe (Cultivate)	<b>ŋasa</b>		
380.	Hunt	<b>fár</b>		cf. Fyem <b>fufwár</b> , Hasha <b>far</b> , Tesu <b>fla</b> , Tarok <b>fár</b> 'to be a good marksman'. Also in Chadic: cf. Bokkos <b>faar</b> , Tangale <b>para</b> (n.), Ngizim <b>bárâ</b> and Hausa <b>fàráwtàà</b>
381.	Insult (V.)	<b>ʃaŋ</b>		
382.	Jump (V)	<b>bərən</b>		
383.	Kill	<b>wəl</b>		cf. Fyem <b>wəl</b> , Sur <b>wəl</b> , Pe <b>wel</b> , Che <b>wul</b> , Kwanka <b>won</b> , Olulomo <b>wùló</b> although as <b>#wu</b> this is widespread in Niger-Congo
384.	Kneel	<b>cikəl</b>		
385.	Know	<b>zək</b>		cf. Bo <b>sinzék</b>

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	Gloss	s.	pl.	Commentary
386.	Laugh	<b>mis</b>		cf. Pe <b>misi</b> , Nupe <b>mátsa</b> . Also in Chadic: Diri <b>mēs</b> , Tera <b>mésó</b>
387.	Leave	<b>ɗai</b>		
388.	Lick	<b>lyes</b>		cf. Buji <b>lama</b> , Kwanka <b>lyam</b> , cLela <b>lèmse</b> , Lamnso <b>la</b> . Forms with initial l- are very widespread and there may be an ideophonic element
389.	Lie	<b>hwara</b>		
390.	Lie (Down)	<b>fwara</b>		? unless the <b>-ra</b> element is the widespread <b>#la</b> for ‘sleep’
391.	Like/Love	<b>ɓwe</b>		cf. Bokkos <b>ɓwet</b> , perhaps Berom <b>bìn</b>
392.	Listen	<b>wɔ</b>		see ‘hear’
393.	Live (Exist)	<b>sɔŋ</b>		
394.	Lose (Something)	<b>dusu</b>		cf. Fyem <b>ɗo</b> ,
395.	Marry	<b>sus</b>		
396.	Mix	<b>vili</b>		cf. Fyem <b>vɔla</b> ,
397.	Mould (Pot)	<b>lɔ</b>		See Berom <b>lɔk</b> (also = build) and related Tyap cluster <b>#nok</b>
398.	Open (Door)	<b>sat</b>		
399.	Pass (By)	<b>leken</b>		
400.	Pierce/Stab	<b>tɔt</b>		cf. Fyem <b>tɔt</b> ,
401.	Plait (Hair)	<b>lɔ</b>		see commentary under ‘weave’
402.	Plant (Crop)	<b>tɔkɔ</b>		cf. Fyem <b>tup</b> ,
403.	Play (Games)	<b>yir</b>		cf. Sur <b>kyirki</b> (where the k- elements are affixes)
404.	Pluck (Fruit)	<b>turus</b>		
405.	Pound (In Mortar)	<b>tur</b>		cf. Yaŋkam <b>tur</b> , Pe <b>tər</b> , but reflects an ancient Niger-Congo root <b>#tu-</b> . Also some Chadic: Tangale <b>tuge</b> , Boghom <b>tuk</b> , Mwaghavul <b>tu</b> . Despite widespread Chadic attestations, probably an early loan or series of loans from Niger-Congo.
406.	Pour (Vt)	<b>tɛ</b>		cf. Berom <b>tɛ</b>
407.	Pull	<b>nata</b>		
408.	Push	<b>ɗi</b>		cf. Tarok <b>ɗɛn</b>
409.	Put (Clothes) On	<b>ziɔ</b>		
410.	Rain (V)	<b>ɗeye kusu</b>		
411.	Receive	<b>tar</b>		see ‘get’
412.	Refuse (Request)	<b>hai</b>		cf. Fyem <b>hau</b> but both are likely to be weakenings of more general <b>#ka</b> roots in Plateau
413.	Remember	<b>bara</b>		cf. Berom <b>bàre</b> ‘to think, remember’
414.	Reply (Question)	<b>sit tɔ</b>		
415.	Resemble	<b>ɗutom</b>		
416.	Return (Vi)	<b>sit</b>		
417.	Ride (Horse Etc.)	<b>bɔsɔn</b>		
418.	Roast	<b>fwas</b>		Williamson (1989:259) sets out <b>#fa-</b> roots such as Proto-Idomoid <b>*fá</b> and Proto-Jukunoid <b>*fwaP</b> . Given in BCCW as <b>#-pap-</b> . Also Daffo <b>fâʃ</b> , probably a loan from BC languages.
419.	Round, to be	<b>lɛkɛ</b>		

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	Gloss	s.	pl.	Commentary
420.	Rub	ci		
421.	Run	tɛl		cf. Fyer talà
422.	Say (+ Direct Speech)	rɛŋ		common in Plateau 4 (e.g. Mada rɛ́) and occasionally elsewhere (e.g. Kamanton ren)
423.	Scratch	hɔŋgɔs		
424.	Search for	pya		
425.	See	dít		cf. Fyer dī, Bokkos dīŋī, but also Tarok dír 'look'
426.	Sell	rap		=buy. See commentary under 'buy'
427.	Send (s.o. to do s.t.)	ziɔ		cf. Igbo -zí 'send message'
428.	Sew	tɔɓ		widespread but scattered in Plateau. cf. Berom tolo and Fyem twol, but probably also Jarawan Bantu #soro. Also in Chadic: Daffo, Bokkos toor, Fyer sool.
429.	Shake	ci		cf. Fyem cica, Pe ci, Rukul ſi,
430.	Sharp, To Be	dye		
431.	Sharpen	sɛp		see 'carve'
432.	Shoot	tar		cf. Fyem ta, Tarok, Sur tat <sup>+</sup> . An ancient Niger-Congo root found as #-ta 'bow' in Congo-Kordofanian
433.	Sing	fal		
434.	Sit (Down)	sɔŋ		Also Tal (Chadic) tɔŋ, Karekare tɔŋg-
435.	Slaughter (Animal)	bwer		
436.	Sleep	dál		cf. Bo lál
437.	Smash (Pot)	wɔl		cf. Ayu wɔ̀dɔk,
438.	Smell	nulu		widespread in Benue-Congo often with a nasal in C <sub>2</sub> position
439.	Smooth, To Be	malaŋ		? cf. Tarok
440.	Sneeze	kisin		
441.	Spit	tɛbe		? cf. Chadic Hausa, Fyer tɔf, Karekare tɔf-. This word has strong ideophonic elements.
442.	Split	kara		see commentary under 'divide'
443.	Squeeze (orange)	fir		
444.	Stand (Up)	yala		see homophonous 'fly'. cf. Fyem yila, Bo yaláx, Sur yel, where similar associations obtains. Also in Chadic: Dera yir-, Karekare 'yaar-, perhaps Hausa tsáyàà
445.	Stay / Remain	tesen		cf. Tarok tɛm
446.	Steal	gɔs		cf. Fyem gos,
447.	Stir (Soup)	ci		= 'shake' cf. Tarok, Pe cì
448.	Strong, To Be	sa		
449.	Suck (Breast)	sɔ		see 'drink'
450.	Surpass	ji		cf. Tarok jí
451.	Swallow	mara		cf. Fyem murya, Yaŋkam mər, Sur mərək, Tarok məkən <sup>+</sup> , Toro mara, Ekoid mɛl, Mambila mènà. Connected with a widespread root for 'throat' reconstructed for PBC as #-mɛrɛn in Blench (ms.)
452.	Sweep	tut		cf. Fyem tut,
453.	Sweet, To Be	mwet		cf. Pe mel, Mada mən, Nupe mǎ. ? cf. Ijoid *ɪmbɛ̀lɛ̀
454.	Swell (As Boil)	mwal		cf. Fyem mwal, but also Tarok, Ngas mwal <sup>+</sup> 'to be fat'

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	Gloss	s.	pl.	Commentary
455.	Swim	wak		cf. Bo wák, Tarok kwák, Hone (Jukunoid) wòk and Efik wók. Reflecting a more ancient #gwok, discussed in Williamson (1992).
456.	Take	tar		cf. Fyem ta imp. tarí
457.	Take off (clothes)	ǫusu		
458.	Talk	tetep		
459.	Tear	ɲara		
460.	Thank	palaŋ		< Ngas though also found throughout Ron
461.	Throw (v.t)	yɔrɔ		
462.	Tie (Animal With Rope)	jɛt		cf. Fyem jít,
463.	Tie (Bundle)	jɛt		
464.	Turn Round (v.i)	leken		
465.	Twist (Rope)	leke		
466.	Uncover (Pot)	sat		
467.	Untie	fufi		cf. Fyem fusha,
468.	Uproot (Tuber)	sim		see commentary under 'dig'
469.	Urinate	lusun		
470.	Vomit	hɔs		cf. Fyem tuhɔs,
471.	Walk	hana		
472.	Wash (Body)	wɔn		cf. Fyem wón, Tarok wòr. Perhaps also Hausa wanke
473.	Weave	lɔ		see also 'plait'. Found in both Niger-Congo and Chadic. cf. Ngas lok but also Tarok lòk
474.	Weed (With Hoe)	wur		cf. Tarok wur <sup>+</sup>
475.	Weep (Cry)	yɛl		cf. Tarok yíŋ
476.	Wipe	tut		
477.	Work	hana		? a weakening of #kan/gan found in Yeskwa and Jarawan Bantu
478.	Wring (Clothes)	huriɟ		
479.	Write	wɔrɔŋ		cf. Bokkos, D-B, Kulere worɔŋ
480.	Yawn	tawa		
	<b>Adjectives</b>			
481.	Black	sirisi		cf. Pe nsit, Bo azít
482.	White	futudu		
483.	Red	sɛsɛ		cf. Fyem ɟɔɟa but also Daffo-Batura ɟaar
484.	Many	kágák		
485.	This	di		
486.	That	dé		
487.	I	me		
488.	You	awɔ		cf. Tarok wò (logophoric)
489.	He/She/It	hyi		
490.	We	taŋ		
491.	You	min		
492.	They	ba		

	Gloss	s.	pl.	Commentary
493.	Ours	mot		
494.	Who	níí		
495.	What	cii		

**Edible and Useful Plants**

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
496.	yam (general)	meyi	ì-mèyì-tùŋ	
497.	aerial yam	dùn	à-dùn	cf. Pe <b>atom</b> but reconstructed for PBC in Blench ms. cf. Nupe <b>adū</b> or Efik <b>édòmò</b> . Discussed in Williamson (1993)
498.	bush-yam	ḡwàrá	à-ḡwàrá	
499.	yam-heap			
500.	taro <sup>3</sup>	bàsá	ḡ-bàsá	
501.	new cocoyam <sup>4</sup>	wàlì	a-wali	< Hausa
502.	cassava	rògò	a-rogo	<Hausa
503.	sweet potato	dàmḡik	ì-dàm-ḡ-ḡik	The –dam element is cognate with Fyem words for ‘yam’ e.g. aerial yam <b>damwe</b> .
504.	sorghum	pəl	bà-pəl-ḡ	
505.	millet	mánjǎŋ	í-mánjǎŋ	
506.	finger-millet	ndùmù	ì-ndùmù	
507.	fonio	ḡéré	bá-ḡéré	
508.	iburu	tèlè	ì-tèlè	cf. Fyem <b>tyèrèp</b> ,
509.	maize	màlǎwḡ	ì-màlǎwḡ	?
510.	rice	ḡḡkǎfǎ	í-ḡḡkǎfǎ	<Hausa
511.	bean	tákù	í-tákù	
512.	bean sp.	kḡtḡrḡŋ	ì-kḡtḡrḡŋ	
513.	bean sp.	kúnì	í-kúnì	isolated instances in Plateau, such as Reshe <b>hí-kòndò</b> and others which may relate to PB # <b>kúnde</b>
514.	bean sp.	ḡǎlà	ì-ḡǎlà	
515.	bean sp.	tǎgùlùŋ	ì-tǎgùlùŋ	
516.	bean sp.	takḡbalḡ	—	
517.	sp.	wǎrǎŋǎn	ì-wǎrǎŋǎn	
518.	groundnut(s)	nzúkút	í-nzúkút	
519.	Bambara groundnut	áfwi	—	a common root in this area. cf. Tarok <b>afi</b> and Jukunoid languages. cf. also Ngas <b>fəfwas</b>
520.	chili pepper	ḡḡḡ	ì-ḡḡḡ	
521.	cotton	ḡḡ	ì-ḡḡ	
522.	sesame seeds	bwḡkét	ì-bwḡkét	
523.	black sesame ( <i>S. radiatum</i> )	rùmù	ì-rùmù	
524.	sesame leaves	bwì	ì-bwì	
525.	waterleaf	lèhù	—	< Hausa
526.	bitterleaf	rèsèn	à-rèsèn	

<sup>3</sup> (*C. esculenta*)

<sup>4</sup> *X. mafaffa*

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
527.	sorrel	cèm	ì-cèm	
528.	okra	zàblà	ì-zàb-ì-là	
529.	garden egg <sup>5</sup>	ḡàyé	—	
530.	onion	libásá	ì-libásá	<Hausa
531.	tomato	tùmátùr	ì-tùmátùr	<Hausa
532.	egusi melon ( <i>C. lanatus</i> )	ágúḡi	—	<Yoruba via Hausa
533.	pumpkin ( <i>C. pepo</i> )	mbwét	ì-mbwét	cf. Sur <b>bat</b> . This almost certainly reflects a widespread root in East Benue-Congo #- <b>be</b> . Some forms, such as Tiv <b>agbadu</b> and tHun <b>tuper</b> may thus be reflecting a dental in C <sub>2</sub> position and the reconstruction should thus be #- <b>bete</b> . In this interpretation, the - <b>m</b> in the Horom stem would be a former prefix.
534.	banana ( <i>Musa</i> AAA)	yaba	ì-yaba	<Hausa
535.	tobacco	tàbà	ì-tàbà	< Hausa
536.	gourd (generic)	yòk	ì-yòk	cf. Fyem <b>yo</b> pl. <b>yó</b> , Yaṅkam <b>yok</b>
537.	gourd-bottle ( <i>L. siceraria</i> )	yóktál	ì-yók-tí-tál	
538.	gourd (spherical)	tágyè	ì-tágyè	
539.	oil-palm	fǎlǎ	ì-fǎlǎ	no direct parallels, but # <b>kolo/golo</b> roots are quite common in East Benue-Congo (BCCW,II, 65)
540.	raphia palm	bàná	ì-bàná	cf. Rukul <b>abal</b> , an ancient PAC root (see Mukarovsky)
541.	fan-palm	gàṅ	ì-gàṅ	cf. Tarok <b>ṅgàṅ</b> , Yaṅkam <b>kaṅa</b>
542.	bush-candle <sup>6</sup>	fát	ì-fát	This name, usually <b>pat</b> , is found throughout this region, in Tarok, Ngas and Mwaghavul
543.	wild date-palm	jíjòṅ	ì-jíjòṅ	cf. Yaṅkam <b>zidoṅ</b>
544.	baobab	kùkà	—	< Hausa
545.	silk-cotton <sup>7</sup>	mbòr	ì-mbòr	
546.	shea tree <sup>8</sup>	tàràk	ì-tàràk	
547.	locust tree <sup>9</sup>	riyǎl	bà-riyǎl-ǎ	cf. Rukul <b>u-ryǎl</b> , Yangkam <b>roi</b>
548.	locust fruit	bùt kù riyǎl	—	
549.	locust-bean cakes	gándùṅ	bá- gándùṅ	
550.	black plum <sup>10</sup>	mber	ì-mber	cf. Fyem <b>byer</b> ,
551.	pawpaw			

<sup>5</sup> *solanum melongena*<sup>6</sup> (*C. schweinfurthii*)<sup>7</sup> (*C. pentandra*)<sup>8</sup> (*V. paradoxa*)<sup>9</sup> (*P. biglobosa*)<sup>10</sup> *Vitex doniana*

## Musical Instruments

No.	Gloss	Singular	Plural	Commentary
552.	drum	<b>gangak</b>	<b>i-gangak</b>	presumably related to Hausa <b>gangaa</b> , though this is widespread in Plateau and commonly loaned between languages.
553.	raft-zither	<b>diŋ</b>		A common name for raft-zither in the Plateau area in both Chadic and Benue-Congo. See Ngas <b>ndɛŋdɛŋ</b> , Fyer <b>ndiŋndiŋ</b> also Tarok <b>adiŋdiŋ</b> 'mouth-bow'.
554.	xylophon e	<b>diŋi</b>		presumably connected with the previous entry

## 7. The affinities of Horom

The present study suggests that Horom is certainly classified correctly as part of the larger Plateau group. It shares a number of common lexical items, as well as showing a system of class-prefixes resembling those in nearby languages.

### 7.1 Relationship with Fyem

Horom people observed that there was some relationship between their language and Fyem and the data supports this (see lexical items 148., 130., 126., 138., 143., 183., 47. etc.). According to Nettle (ined.) the Fyem are unaware of the Horom. The surprising thing, however, is the extreme closeness of some lexical items and the lack of regular correspondences. This tends to suggest a loan-relationship of some type. It therefore seems likely that one language came under the influence of the other in some past historical era. If this is so, then it is at least possible that Fyem and Horom are *not* closely related at base. Only further research can elucidate this.

### 7.2 Bo-Rukul and SE Plateau

Bo-Rukul, the third element in SE Plateau, is known from the words cited in the BCCW and from the 120 items in Nettle (in press) and these do not always agree. Horom people claim Bo-Rukul is not intercomprehensible with their language, but the data does suggest that it shares some words with Horom and indeed that all three languages share a few lexical items. SE Plateau appears in its present form in Hansford et al. (1976) and was reprised in Crozier and Blench (1992) for lack of further information.

Nettle (in press) argues that although Horom and Fyem are correctly aligned, Bo shows, lexicostatistically, similar rates of cognacy to other Plateau languages as to Fyem/Horom and should therefore be excluded from SE Plateau. This may be true in the case of lexical counts, but Bo shares some clear links with Horom that are not part of the general Plateau lexical fund (Table 1). Most notable are;

**Table 1. Isoglosses linking Horom with Bo**

Gloss	Horom	Bo	Fyem
arrow	<b>gaba</b>	<b>hwab</b>	<b>baka</b>
water	<b>bamal</b>	<b>mal</b>	<b>wíni</b>
smoke	<b>ʃifeŋ</b>	<b>ifé</b>	<b>kikis</b>
fish	<b>sèrèp</b>	<b>sérép</b>	<b>gwaʃi</b>
sun	<b>uwí</b>	<b>wéi</b>	<b>wíi</b>

There are also common lexical items joining all three members of SE Plateau that again seem to be unusual (Table 2);

**Table 2. Isoglosses supporting SE Plateau**

Gloss	Horom	Bo	Fyem
foot	<b>u-fol</b>	<b>fol</b>	<b>ɗufór</b>
nose	<b>wól</b>	<b>awol</b>	<b>ɗu-wól</b> pl. <b>awól</b>
egg	<b>hye</b>	<b>di-hie</b> (in BCCW)	<b>ɗihí</b>

**Sound-correspondences:**

In addition, the somewhat scanty lexical data provides some initial evidence for sound-correspondences between Horom and Bo, as shown below;

Horom /d/ → Bo /r/

Gloss	Horom	I. Bo
		tongue
knee	<b>ḍurum</b>	<b>ru-rum</b>
eat	<b>ḍye</b>	<b>ré</b>

Horom /y/ → Bo /ʒ/

Gloss	Horom	II. Bo
		eye
tooth	<b>ḍiyin</b>	<b>uʒinín</b>

A larger set of lexical data would be needed to confirm these correspondences.

### 7.3 Links with Plateau

#### 7.3.1 General

Horom shows a large number of lexical items in common with Plateau and East Benue-Congo, for example 104., 112., 66., 497., 519., 159., 189. etc. These suggest that it is certainly part of Plateau.

#### 7.3.2 Berom

A feature of the comparative list given here is the observation of lexical links with Berom, for example nos. 225., 309., 342., 349., 397. 406. etc. This was observed by Shimizu (1975) in his lexicostatistical study (which used Fyem data) and it seems to be supported by the evidence from Horom. Unfortunately the unity of the Beromic languages (i.e. Berom, Aten and Cara) is itself far from demonstrated (Blench in press) and it may be that the links with Berom reflect the fact that it is spoken over a wide area, rather than any relationship at a more fundamental level.

#### 7.3.3 Tarokoid

Another very distinctive linkage is with the Tarokoid languages, less with Tarok itself and more with Pe and Yaŋkam. Distinctive shared lexical items include nos. 107., 132., 138., 2., 3., 541.

## 7.4 Influence of the Ron languages

Horom shows a number of lexical items in common with the Ron languages, in particular with Fyer (e.g. 148., 125., 82., 153., 192., 59., 370.), which is striking as these are not immediate neighbours. Loans into Fyer can be detected because these are isolated with the context of Chadic (following Jungraithmayr and Ibrizimow 1995). Examples are nos. 82. In some cases these are loans into Horom, but in others, they are shared with other Plateau and Chadic languages, so the direction of influence is less certain.

## 7.5 Conclusion

To tentatively summarise these results;

- a) Horom is a Plateau language
- b) SE Plateau may be a valid grouping but the surface affinity with Fyem may be the result of past contact rather than genuine underlying genetic affiliation
- c) Horom shows some distinctive lexical links with Berom, which might be due to regional influence or genetic affiliation
- d) Horom, despite a close cultural affiliation with the Ron people and bilingualism in Kulere has certainly not been overwhelmed by the Ron languages lexically. Indeed some common items are shared more widely in the region, and others may have come from pre-Horom languages into the Ron languages.
- e) There is a specific relationship with the Fyer language which has yet to be explained.

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